UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

Add to Your Faith—Knowledge

By H. R. MUSSEY

The Peacemakers in Denmark

By SYDNEY STRONG

The League of Nations

By LUCIA AMES MEAD

The Present Crisis: Wanted for Adoption—A Foreign Policy!

By BRENT DOW ALLINSON

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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES *: Editors :* FRANCIS NEILSON

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. XCI THURSDAY, AUGUST 30, 1923 Number 23

The nearer I get to divinity, the nearer I will get to humanness.
I will embrace the infinite, that I may not overlook the tiny blades of grass.
I will press my kiss to the brow of the distant worlds, that I may not fail to salute my neighbor at my door.
I will praise God on high, that I may also praise His most lowly creatures.
I will sing God-anthems, that my breast may be attuned to sing the songs of the earth and you.

Muriel Strode.

The last thing that we want to be victim of is a phobia. The German phobia was so terrible during the war, the Russian phobia is so ghastly a thing to-day, that we have a perfect horror lest we also, unwittingly perhaps, develop our own personal phobia and be poisoned by it to lunacy. Yet here we are, thinking such thoughts of the governments of the world to-day, cherishing such abhorrence of the *status quo* and the people who sustain and control it, that we wonder if we ourselves have suddenly gone crazy and are raving madly like everybody else, only on the other side. It's a fair question—and we doubt not we may be guilty. But are there not certain facts which may persuade us to believe that we are still sane, and thus, whatever the perversity of our opinions, not merely frothing at the mouth with propaganda rage? For example, we always try to read the other side, and give our opponents full chance to convince us of error; the New York *Times* is our daily food, and the Boston *Transcript* is faithfully read whenever we can get it. Do our conservative friends follow this practice—do they study the New York *Call* and subscribe for the *Nation?* So also we make it a point to attend meetings and listen to addresses devoted to the defense of interests which we most despise and hate; if free on a Sunday, we invariably attend an orthodox church (the bluer the better!), and a Republican rally is always our choice over a Socialist. Is this the rule followed by our conservatives—do the Presbyterians attend Unitarian services, or the Civic Federation devotees appear at public meetings for the recognition of Soviet Russia? In the matter of books, we neglect no able exposition of our own ideas, but we neglect also few able expositions of contrary ideas; we finished Dickinson's "War: Its Nature, Cause and Cure," only to turn to Winston Churchill's "The World Crisis." Is this what "the other fellows" do; have they read Williams's and Brailsford's books on the Bolsheviki as well as Spargo's?

Then there's another aspect of this matter. We have no exaggerated notions of the importance of personalities; but we do believe that men, if they do not control events, at least embody and reveal the inward meaning and significance of events. Now when we ask ourselves if we may not have some horrid phobia on this matter of the established order, we test ourselves by studying the men whom we admire and love, and those whom we detest and abhor. Our heroes of the past—Amos, Socrates, Jesus, St. Francis, Savonarola, Huss, Luther, Wesley, Garrison, Phillips, Theodore Parker, Mazzini, Tolstoy—they were all rebels against the existing society of their day, and fought every established interest of church and state that they could reach. Take the men of today! Those in positions of power—Curzon in England, Poincaré in France, Mussolini in Italy, Coolidge, Daugherty, Lodge in America—seem to us to be at the best blind leaders of the blind; whereas the men who are hated and despised, and whom we most admire,—Romain Rolland, Bertrand Russell, Stefan Zweig, Gandhi, Debs, etc.—are just the men who exercise no social authority of any kind. The only place where this rules does not hold is Russia; here the best and greatest men are at the top. But here also has come a social overturn which has filled the conventional world with terror and dismay. These are some of the facts that help us to believe that in our thoughts and convictions we are not mere sadists of the phobia type. We may be wholly wrong in opinion, but we dwell still in the realms of reason. Is this true, or is it not? If not, for heaven's sake tell us so; and, if you love us, tell us where we are betrayed.

Woodrow Wilson's article in the current *Atlantic Monthly,* entitled "The Road Away From Revolution," is an impressive document, worthy both from a literary and spiritual point of view of the distinguished mind which produced it. It is curious, however, and a little pathetic also, to find the ex-President solemnly affirming, as though the proposition involved no contradiction, that the late war accomplished the purpose for which it was ostensibly fought. "The world has been made safe for democracy," writes Mr. Wilson. "There need now be no fear that any such mad design as that entertained by the insolent and ignorant Hohenzollerns and their counselors may prevail against it." Was there ever an assertion more sublimely indifferent to the

facts? Match this statement, for example, with Premier Nitti's analysis of the outcome of the war in his book, "The Decadence of Europe," which we happened to be reading at the time the Wilson article appeared! "When we opposed German imperialism," he writes (page ix), "we never dreamed that we were helping to build up *an even worse tyranny.*" The removal of "the insolent and ignorant Hohenzollerns," in other words, as Nitti makes so clear in his extended discussion of the present situation, has resulted only in the erection in Europe of another "tyranny," that of France, more "insolent" and more "ignorant" even than pre-war Germany, and therefore "worse." Democracy, so far from being safe, is more endangered than ever. It is this fact—that incalculable numbers of lives were spent, immeasurable oceans of treasure wasted, misery and death scattered broadcast throughout the world, to overthrow and destroy one monstrous militarism, only to have it succeeded by another militarism still more monstrous—that constitutes the supreme and agonizing irony of contemporary history. What Germany tried to do—namely, dominate Europe by the power of the sword—France has succeeded in doing. Most of us, like Mr. Wilson, cannot, or will not, see it; and thus we have "no fear." But England sees it, as Nitti sees it; and the steps which she is taking accordingly, are determining history for the coming generation.

We have seen no more impressive tribute to the continued success of the German policy of passive resistance in the Ruhr than that unwittingly paid by the French President, Millerand, in his address at the centenary celebration of the birth of the great Pascal. Appealing to the country to stand behind the Poincaré government in its action against Germany, he said, "Let us not hide the truth from ourselves that this policy is one of a long, hard pull." Just as the army had held out against the Germans to the end during the Great War, he continued, so must France now be resolved to hold out to the end—"that is to say, a quarter of an hour longer than our adversary." Note, if you will please, the analogy to war, and more particularly to the Great War! France, says her President, is engaged today, just as she was in 1914-1918, in a vast struggle for supremacy, in which her strength is being pitted against the strength of an enemy on so nearly equal a basis as to involve the last "quarter of an hour" of endurance. And who is this enemy? Defeated Germany, of course. And how is this enemy armed?—with great armies of disciplined men, with hosts of artillery and air-planes, with explosives, poisonous gases, and liquid fire? On the contrary, Germany is stripped of every weapon known to modern warfare. She has not a soldier nor a gun—nothing but bare breasts crossed by arms that will not salute, clasp hands with, nor work for, the invader. By the simple resolution of non-resistance, this defenseless nation holds at bay the mightiest army in the world. And we see the amazing spectacle of the French President comparing the plight of his country with that of 1914, and beseeching his people to hold on to the bitter end. When, in all history, have we seen such a vindication of pacifist policy?

We hope our readers are following the decisions of the League, or World, Court; they are assuredly illuminating. Take the recent case between Russia and Finland, for example, in which the Court declined to pass down a decision on the ground that it had no jurisdiction over a case unless both parties to the dispute appealed, and Russia had refused to appeal! This has momentous significance, for two reasons. In the first place, the announcement of the Court at last grants to the Soviets the recognition which they have for so long been seeking in vain. The Court declares in so many words that Bolshevik Russia is a nation like any nation, has equal standing with all other governments, can grant or withhold action in the World Court at its own independent will. If Russia were not recognized, why then its failure to come before the tribunal at the Hague would not have been recognized, and Finland's complaint would have been heard and answered. But the Court took Russia's action as decisive, and dismissed Finland without redress. All of which is impressive—and, from the standpoint of Washington, decidedly disconcerting. Here is Secretary Hughes urging America to enter a Court which has just officially and formally recognized the Moscow government which he persists in ignoring! It's a pretty mess, with Russia at the moment all to the good. The second aspect of significance in this case is to be found in the fact that the Court has now by its own action, or lack of action, confessed that it has and can have no jurisdiction in any dispute in which both parties do not of their own accord come before the bar. This ends once and for all, of course, any possibility of this Court serving as an instrument for the settlement of dangerous international disputes, and thus the ending of war. The aggrieved or weaker nation may come into court as promptly as you please, but the aggressor or stronger nation may not do so, and so the Court is paralyzed! Why hope, therefore, for any effective good from this tribunal? It could have accomplished nothing in 1914, for Austria would not listen to conference in its dispute with Serbia. It can accomplish nothing today in the Ruhr, for France will appeal nothing. The Court as a court is a joke, and a very tragic joke. To recognize its futility, and work for a real court, such as is provided for in the Borah Resolution, is the part of simple wisdom.

A more recent decision of the World Court is that passed down against Germany in the case involving the use of the Kiel Canal by foreign vessels. This case, it will be remembered, grew out of the refusal of Ger-

many to allow the S. S. *Wimbledon,* chartered by a French company and loaded with munitions consigned to Poland, to pass through the Canal during the war between Poland and Russia. The Court declared, in undoubted accordance with the Treaty of Versailles, that the Kiel Canal must be open to all war and merchant ships of nations at peace with Germany; and ordered the Republic, for its refusal to grant passage to the *Wimbledon,* to pay damages to her charterers. How the Court could have decided otherwise, we do not see. But it is just this fact which makes so amazing such a decision from a body ostensibly set up for the purpose of ending war and keeping the peace of the world! Here is the Court declaring, as of course it had to declare under so-called international law, that war between two nations is an entirely legal and proper proceeding; that when such war breaks out, the rights of the combatants to fight out their quarrel to the end, and get help wherever they can, shall not be interfered with; and that all the instruments of civilization, including the World Court itself, shall be used to protect this right—i. e., to protect and to perpetuate war. And this is called helping on the cause of peace! If ever there was an argument for Senator Borah's plan for the *outlawry* of war, this is it. The first step toward any effective work for peace is to outlaw war, make it a crime and its perpetrators criminals, and marshal all the forces of civilization to interfere with it, stop it, and suppress it. If the Court were a real peace court, acting under real international law, it would have sustained Germany in closing the canal, and punished the French charterers of the *Wimbledon* as pirates.

There was an amazing amount of good sense packed away in Henry Ford's recent interview in *Collier's.* A man who can say right out—"Politically we not only keep all the old truck around, but we make it sacred"; "the tariff is a joke, but it is apt to hang on . . . until the people learn that special privileges do not pay"; "giving a bonus (the ship-subsidy) for incapacity is a brilliant procedure, provided our object is to waste money"—this kind of a man inevitably stirs our enthusiasm. But, in this same interview, is the old obsession against the Jew! Here, in other words, is the dropped stitch which makes the whole fabric, fine as it seems to be in itself, utterly worthless. Henry Ford is unstable; he has no firm foundation for his political and economic opinions, and thus any one of his soundest common-sense ideas may collapse upon the instant. As sane today as a wise-man of old Greece, he may be as mad tomorrow as a whirling dervish. Look at his peace ideas, for example! During the Great War, Mr. Ford was an ardent pacifist. He won the ridicule of an excited world by as superb a gesture of idealism—the Peace Ship crusade!—as we have seen in modern times. Then, when America plunged into the flaming chaos of Europe, he supported the war. And now, when the worst consequences of that disaster are before us, he becomes a raging preparedness advocate, outdoing even the military men themselves in his ardor for big guns and battle. There's no stability in Henry Ford. He has a native shrewdness, an almost uncanny cleverness, a naïve sincerity; but little experience, less knowledge, and no basic moral principle at all. Such a man can be by turns sane and insane, kind and cruel. For this reason is he fundamentally dangerous to the public weal.

Add to Your Faith—Knowledge

"And beside this, giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue; and to virtue knowledge; and to knowledge temperance; and to temperance patience; and to patience godliness; and to godliness brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness charity." It is the Apostle Peter we hear addressing the rabble rout of early Christians. Rarely has there been a better enumeration of the qualities that go to the making of a serviceable and happy human being or a well-organized and happy society. Diligence, virtue, temperance, patience, godliness, brotherly kindness, charity—everywhere and at all times we find ourselves failing in one or another, and then painfully taking up again the age-long task of cultivating them, a task to be renewed by one generation after another. We have all become a bit ashamed of making attempts to help people be good in this simple personal sense. We need not be; for these plain essential everyday individual human virtues are if anything more important than ever in an age when our relations have become so largely depersonalized, when our decisions and our acts affect not only our housemates and our neighbors across the street, but the plantation laborers of the Philippines, the rubber-gathering natives of the Congo, the hungry children of the Russian moujik.

Two qualities of qualifications in the Apostle's list, however, furnish in some sense the foundation on which the others rest. Men may indeed be diligent and patient and kind no matter what their faith, no matter how profound their ignorance. Yet no reader of Motley's great work on "The Rise of the Dutch Republic" or any other chapter in the long, dreary history of religious persecution can question the power of a misdirected faith to poison the very wellsprings of human kindness. And no one famiilar with Andrew D. White's "Warfare of Science with Theology" or any other study of the efforts of the mind at emancipation can doubt the limitations laid on the human spirit in all ages by lack of knowledge. The progress of society depends upon the harmonious growth of the faith and

the knowledge by which men live, and the attention of thoughtful men at this juncture may well be addressed to determining the conditions of such growth.

In the past, we have suffered from two errors. First, and most persistent, has been the fear that faith would suffer from the advance of knowledge. Throughout all recorded history the priest and the king have used the soldier to put down the sectary and the revolutionist in the name of law and order. Sectary and revolutionist often had no new knowledge, only a new faith; but because priest and king feared that new knowledge might beget new faith and so upset the existing order, throughout the ages they have fought new knowledge. Church and state today are still engaged in the old crusade, notwithstanding the yeoman efforts of a militant minority of churchmen to fit their creeds to their knowledge, rather than their knowledge to their creeds.

The idolatry of the state, if one may judge, has increased rather than diminished. The divine right of kings, to be sure, has disappeared along with the older machinery of persecution and torture. But just as we have substituted more refined and on the whole more effective means of compulsion for the rack and the gibbet, so we have replaced divine right of kings with divine right of majorities. The new faith, bottomed upon fact not a whit more than the old, is no less afraid of new knowledge, no less jealous of new experiments, no less determined to maintain its idol in face of heretics and scoffers and critics of every sort. If anyone doubts this fact, let him examine candidly the history of all governments in dealing with the new Russia, or the shameful story of our own undiscriminating persecution of the I. W. W., or the record of our treatment of conscientious objectors during the war and of unbelievers in our system of private property since the war. Contemporary intolerance differs from historical persecution only in the slightly greater amenity of modern manners, and in the new objects of unthinking idolatry. We still believe in faith without knowledge.

Disagreeable though the task, then, the thoughtful man must bear his part in waging the endless fight for tolerance, and particularly now when the armies of intolerance have been recruited to overflowing as one consequence of the late slaughter. He must help give freedom of utterance to the heretic and the unbeliever —yes, even to the rattlepate, if need be—in order that the way may be kept open likewise for him who brings precious new truth. What the opposite course means some of our comfortably conforming natural scientists seem likely to learn to their sorrow in certain southern states, where even the respectable doctrine of evolution threatens to fall under the ban. Under penalty of destruction, modern society must learn to add to its faith knowledge.

Our second historical error, though ancient in origin, has assumed importance only with the rise of modern science. The belief that we can advance by knowledge without faith has embodied itself in new and menacing forms since men equipped with the calculus and the refinements of statistical analysis, with the weights and measures of the physicist, with the test tube and the microscope and the spectroscope, have learned to ferret out the secrets of the heavens and the earth and the waters under the earth, and of the mysterious forces operating, not in the world of matter alone, but in that of mind and spirit as well. This new knowledge of nature has lodged enormous power in the hands of those who utilize the new science, and just as the early manufacturers made quick and often immoral use of the new power of steam, for example, so today are their imitators, no more scrupulous, making equally prompt utilization of the new knowledge in psychology and economics and politics to ends often the most debasing and destructive. Herein lies our second danger, not in the unwillingness to receive new knowledge, but in its prostitution to base and ignoble ends.

Here lies the problem for our scientists of every sort. Under the false and fallacious dogma of truth for truth's sake, too many of them have depersonalized and demoralized their science, have divested themselves of all responsibility for the results and the application of their researches, have sold themselves to the devil under guise of worshipping the truth. They have worked indifferently on the elimination of yellow fever and the invention of poison gas. Is not the formula of lewisite as true as that of salvarsan? They have regarded themselves as scientists and not as men, as concerned with means and not with ends. In consequence they have become far and away the most useful and often the most docile servants of government whatever its ends, as witness their conduct in the holocaust from which we are just emerging. In fact, in their narrow devotion to their own little segment of knowledge, they have often proceeded in abysmal ignorance of other facts, thus making themselves the laughingstock of informed men. For example, we have recently been treated to the edifying spectacle of the prince of our munition makers buying up the chemists of the country, apparently without their realizing it, and securing the endorsement of their national society for an unconscionable tariff on his monopolistically controlled dyestuffs as a necessary element in a scheme of national "preparedness"—and all in the name of patriotism and pure science. Such are the fruits of knowledge without faith, of means without ends. As for the social scientist, who understood better the operation of the social machine and its ruthless impersonality in crushing those who got in its way, even more culpably has he abjured the task of evaluation in the name of pure science, declaring that he would only understand and explain. Often, indeed, he has ridden in high places on that machine, but all the time he was

chained to its wheels, in the name of knowledge alone. Let the machine roll on to the abyss, if it will; he cannot even cry aloud.

Add to your faith knowledge, but keep the faith. Modify it, enlarge it, deepen it as knowledge grows. Welcome the new knowledge as the sole means of purifying and ennobling it. Something such is the lesson that contemporary society must learn. The ultimate claim of personality as the last word in human life and the consequent moral basis for all human activities—it is such a faith toward which our widening knowledge points, and such a faith that must direct our quest for new truth. And always we may rest assured of the error in that apparent truth which contradicts the simple rules of diligence, virtue, temperance, patience, godliness, brotherly kindness, charity. Regard it as we will, it is God's universe.

H. R. Mussey.

Jottings

In spite of everything that has been printed in the newspapers about President Coolidge, since his unexpected accession to office, we still wish him well. Again and again the tide of saccharine futility that has flooded the press has threatened to break our confidence as well as turn our stomach. But we have survived with the firm assurance that while Mr. Coolidge is not the greatest man who has ever lived, nor even necessarily a second Abraham Lincoln, as we have been so ceaselessly told, he may still conceivably be an able and devoted chief executive of this Republic.

In 1920, at a committee hearing in the Massachusetts Legislature, Mr. William H. Brooks of Holyoke, spoke the following words of uncanny prophecy:

> Calvin Coolidge is the luckiest man that ever lived, and if I were Warren G. Harding I should see a shadow in my path, and if I could induce an insurance company to take the risk, I should take out all the insurance I could find the money to pay for. I should expect that before the expiration of my four years in office, my wife would be left a widow.

Commenting on the recent union of Canadian denominations, the *Lutheran Companion* (July 7) asks

> If churches of so wide a divergence can unite into one organization, why is it not possible for the Lutheran churches of America to form a Lutheran union?

Why not, indeed? And further and better still—Why is it not possible for the Christian churches of America to form a Christian union?

Never did the comic strips in the newspapers appear so utterly futile and vulgar as during the week following the death of President Harding. We hoped that, in this period of solemn mourning, these preposterous inanities might cease. But they went right on, like the babblings of an idiot in a house of death.

The Washington Elm, it is officially announced, is dead. Dead like some other things nobly associated with the American Revolution! The *Christian Register* (August 16) could not have chosen a more fitting moment to print the latest story about the Statue of Liberty. Shown the monument from the deck of a transatlantic liner by a proud American, a French passenger remarked solemnly, "We also erect statues to our illustrious dead."

By Edwin M. Borchard, Professor of International Law at Yale, in the *North American Review* for July:

> If I judge correctly the temper of the world, there is less disposition now to adopt the civilized methods of adjusting conflicting interests than there has been for generations. Few people realize, or are willing to contemplate, the facts that nine years of devastating war and disintegrating peace have undermined the moral foundations of many densely populated areas of the world, and that there is more faith in the efficacy of force . . . as a solution for international difficulties than there has been since the days of Napoleon.

We are told that the Ku-Klux-Klan has purchased Valparaiso University. Well, we know of no people in America that more need education today than the Klan!

J. H. H.

The Peacemakers in Denmark

Editorial Correspondence.

One can attend international conferences in Europe all summer, if he is so inclined. Last week (July 19 to 26), for example, I was at the Fellowship of Reconciliation Conference, Nyborg Strand, Denmark. This week, Saturday, I expect to run down to Hellerau, near Dresden, to have a look at the gathering of several hundred devotees of the Youth Movement—a score or more coming from America. Next week I meet some Australian friends at a great Esperanto Congress at Nüremberg.

Let me tell you about the Fellowship Conference at Nyborg Strand. Over 200 were there, and for a week. They hailed from over a score of lands—from America's oil wells to India's coral strands. Naturally they were all colors, from flaxen-haired Swedes to dark negroes. The names of the occupants of my bedroom will give an idea of the complexion of this conference. I copied them from the card at the door; they are: F. Bock, R. Burka, G. Koch, E. Kohl, W. Kruger, J. V. Gustavsson, W. Demmer, J. Nielsen, S. Strong, O. Volquartz. They were brought together by one idea, namely, that love is the only weapon for overcoming enemies, and the only power for constructing society on a permanently peaceful basis.

The people ate together (although about a third assembled at a vegetarian table), conferred together over such questions as the following: "The Economic Sphere and Capitalism"; "The Kingdom of God"; "The Political Sphere"; "The League of Nations"; "A Christian International"; "France and Germany." There was usually a set speech, or two, followed by five-minute talks—cards of intended talkers being sent up to the chairman. This plan, together with the necessity of having the same speech given in German, French and English, made a spontaneous flow of thought well nigh impossible. Personally, I vote in favor of the sentence by sentence method of interpretation.

There were some interesting people at this conference—in fact, a lot of them. They seemed to be happy in each other's fellowship, and to practice the doctrine of pacifism they taught. I did wonder, however, how this crowd would get along together for a year and on an island—for, among us were girls with mop-hair heads, and men with brush whiskers a foot long. There were communists and individualists and old-fashioned evangelicals. Some were emphasizing "heart" power, while others were championing the industrial revolution, for which the "failure of Capitalism is preparing the way."

There were three boys who had come from Vienna, most of the way afoot, except when given a lift by a generous driver. They had been on the way nearly a month, and their supplies, in cash, had cost them about $5.00. Let no one pity the lads. They propose to make Sweden before turning homeward. This plan of seeing the world afoot is common among European young people.

I had a long talk with an interesting Englishman. When the war broke in 1914, his whole nature rebelled. He became an "objector" and ever since has sought the way of peace for himself and for humanity. He told me that he was not "properly converted" until he turned his feet toward Rome. He felt that he *must have authority*, and this was to be found in the belief that God was incarnated in Christ, and that the Church was the visible expression of this incarnation. Before these words are read, he will have taken the first step to join the Benedictine Order of Monks. I am frank to say that one seeking spiritual reinforcement for his life is driven toward Rome or toward Quakerism. My own drift is toward the latter, in making the spirit the supreme authority. Where is the stopping point?

There was another delegate—an ardent pacifist, a Frenchman and "Christian Communist"—and he had been a priest. "A Christian Communist, did you say?" inquired a delegate from Russia, "there is no such creature." Yet, here was the Frenchman, a Christian Communist, and one of the most popular and useful members of the conference.

Messrs. Oliver Dryer and company (17 Red Lion Square, W C, London), leaders of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, had certainly succeeded in getting together many varieties of humanity: preachers and priests, pietists, atheists, and communists, young men and elders. Those things that divide men, color, nationality, tongue, creed, did not interfere with a good-natured fellowship. The French and Germans conferred several times together and gave out to the world the fact of their fraternity. One of the most popular men in the conference was a negro—unless a certain Indian was still more popular.

I was most interested in the Committees on Industry, Russia and India. The sentiment of this Conference was clearly against the Capitalist system of society as being un-Christian. One could almost hear it fall! Along with this, however, there seemed to me to be an anti-soviet impulse—the only government I am aware of that is frankly anti-capitalistic. As for India, there was an interesting discussion of Gandhi. I was disappointed that in a gathering of this nature, that stood for the *application* of the principle of love and non-violence to human affairs, a word of sympathy was not sent to the most conspicuous exponent of this principle—namely, the imprisoned Gandhi. But this would be too much to expect, I suppose, of a gathering whose headquarters are in London. For, try as one may, one cannot divest himself entirely of his national or imperial inheritance.

The company impressed me as made up of earnest seekers after truth and, after a way, of peace. It was not a conference of veterans who had tested their principles for years in all conditions of life and had brought to the conference a certainty of faith. They were seekers with all the eagerness and uncertainty of seekers. This being the case, I was disappointed in that they did not come to grips very often; did not speak of their "experiences." I do not mean "heart" experiences; for, one can hear these at a street meeting of the Salvation Army. I mean, as Miss Hutchins intimated, an actual putting into action of the professed principles of the Fellowship. Who is *doing* it? And how? What success? What difficulties?

I have long believed that the Sermon on the Mount —the Charter of the Fellowship—contained the truths for the foundation of human society; that they were principles of life as true and real as other principles of life. What was needed was working, a testing. What I have been a long time looking for is a group of believers who, co-operatively (not on a farm, or in a shop, or in a monastery, but in the ordinary pursuits) are applying these principles all the time; sustaining and re-enforcing each other's faith by "testimony" and "life evidence." A group that will stand when war breaks!

The Fellowship movement is so good that it will stand a little severe but honest criticism. I handed Dr. Hodgkin's book "The Christian Revolution"—one of the text-books of the movement—to a young man and asked his candid judgment. Here it is:

> Have just finished Hodgkin's book, not very thoroughly, but carefully enough. It seems as if he was using words without much punch back of them. I do not know his experience and what he has done along the lines of his talking, but his book doesn't bring conviction with it. I hold with him most of his viewpoints, but I don't feel as if he makes a very strong case for them. He has taken also four times as much space as is necessary to bring out his points. About all that I can get from it is his belief in the Love of God as a principle applicable to the solution of the world's problems, and the need of people working on it. I do not feel he has thrown much light on the subject, nor that it has in it the virility that would appeal to a group of young men. Finally the world change will come through youth or those with a youthful spirit. That means daring and clearness. I wish I was more clear myself, but I do know when a thing has punch and when it hasn't. I feel most of his quotations are stronger than his own statements.

The Nyborg Strand Conference did not get much beyond the stage of discussion of problems and the creation of an atmosphere of genuine fellowship among the delegates. This, to be sure, is no small accomplishment. The spreading of the principles of the Fellow-

ship throughout the year in addresses and literature is fine and works like leaven. There were a number of people present who have gone through persecution for the "word's sake," but little benefit was given to the others by the recital of their experiences of faith. The Fellowship, like the Quakers, has hold, in my opinion, of the basic principles of life. It is quite imperative now that chief emphasis should be put upon actual application rather than upon theory. "The Christian Revolution," in which I believe, will come when enough people begin to work the principles of the Fellowship in the midst of this "adulterous generation" with its capitalistic system.

The singing at conference might be much improved. I suspect no international book has been published. The Committee did the best it could, but both hymns and tunes were decidedly dismal and medieval, and ill expressing a live movement of youth.

The headquarters of the Fellowship in America are at 396 Broadway, New York, with Paul Jones as executive secretary. He chose during the war to be numbered among the Christian Pacifists rather than among the bishops. Its principles are so sound, imperative and appealing that I am quick to affirm that a Fellowship group in every college, church and union would spell peace and prosperity to America for a hundred years. Naturally I suggest that the reader write to 396 Broadway for a circular of information.

SYDNEY STRONG.

The League of Nations

My friend, the editor of UNITY, asks: "Are there any friends of the League of Nations in the room? If so, will they rise. The floor is yours."

Many thanks. I am glad to take the floor and to give reason for the faith that is in me. I want to face the critical, well-meaning radicals who are allying themselves with the reactionaries and hindering World Organization. I am told that there are 609,786 more men under arms than there were in 1913; believers in the League are asked to explain this in view of article VIII of the Covenant. The fact is tragic and needs explanation. The chief increase has come from the new, small nations, which, instead of paying their old small quota as part of a large empire, are now guarding all their borders themselves and cut off from many former customers by new customs barriers which create friction and discomfort. The League of Nations has had nought to do with this and should not be held responsible, as I shall show.

Article VIII recognizes that "the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments," and says, "The Council shall formulate plans for such reduction." For three years the League has attempted to suppress arms traffic. Huge quantities of munitions were left after the war. Referring to the need of suppressing traffic in these, Lord Robert Cecil said at Geneva, September 26, 1922:

> I do not believe it is possible to exaggerate the importance of that question. I believe that if, three years ago, we had had a proper control of the traffic in arms, very many of the disturbances and hostilities, much of the fighting that has since taken place, would never have occurred.

He then showed how

> agents of the Moscow government are buying considerable quantities of arms. A very large order for armored cars, lorries, and it appears also machine guns, is understood to have been placed with ——— (a particular works). What a melancholy thing that we, the countries of the west, should actually be engaged in arming a government. . . . At Paris, in 1919, a convention was framed to deal with this question. . . . Since then at every meeting of the Assembly strong resolutions have been passed, urging its acceptance by all the nations of the world, and after three years' continuous effort we have arrived at this position: that practically all the important nations of the world have accepted it, and have agreed to ratify it and to make the necessary legislation to make it effective on one condition—that it was universally accepted.
>
> The one exception was the United States of America. . . . It is not for us to criticize them, but we received, on July 28 last, a definite statement that the Government of the United States was not in a position to ratify this Convention, and I am afraid that therefore effort to control the traffic in arms must be ruled out definitely as a possibility.

We did indeed express amiable wishes in this direction, and probably when it is too late we may cooperate.

The Temporary Mixed Commission of civilian and military experts to "formulate plans" has been at work for nearly four years. No "right-about-face" policy was in their power or the power of any organization or nation, until other steps had first been taken. The commission has been diligently securing statistics from the nations as to their arms, as related to "the geographical situation and circumstances of each state" and to the amount needed for "national security." They have been trying to arrive at the "unit of reduction," a most difficult matter to settle, as cost, numbers of men, equipment and many other matters must enter the calculation. But all practical steps to reduce arms have been grossly hampered by the fact that the richest nation in the world, with a navy second to none, refuses to enter the League and to pledge itself to wait nine months before lifting a finger against another member nation and to have its dispute arbitrated or investigated as the other fifty-two nations have already pledged themselves to do. So long as we insist on standing aloof, insisting on our legal freedom to go to war tomorrow and to be judge, jury and executioner in our own case, how can any group of nations be expected to disarm? To be sure, Russia, Germany and Turkey must enter also before war can be outlawed and disarmament be accomplished, but our entrance would greatly hasten that of the others.

Universal agreement is absolutely essential among the armed powers before outlawing war or disarmament is possible. Our Senate could indeed pass the Borah resolution, but all the world must agree before it becomes effective. Our aloofness and arrogant indifference has done more to hamper the forward action of the League than any other element in the whole complex problem. Not even French fear and revenge and ambition have been more potent. We had it in our power to help a chaotic world get on its feet, and a few irreconcilables doomed us to play the part of mere spectators. The public has been confused and misinformed. We have played an ignoble part, standing with dry feet and afraid to get a wetting if we helped struggling folk out of the mire or those strangling beneath the waters of bankruptcy, bitterness and misery. We have allowed evils to develop that should have been and could have been nipped in the bud.

Why am I standing on the bandstand on Boston

Common on Sunday afternoons talking to crowds of men about the League of Nations, together with the secretaries of the Massachusetts and the Boston federation of Churches? It is because we all heartily believe the pronouncement of the Federal Council of Churches given after the last presidential election at their quadrennial:

> The supreme hope of the world is in the League of Nations. This is the one worth-while, definite thing which has come out of the war. The call for our nation to enter this League and help make it a really effective instrument for righting wrongs and adjusting national difficulties is the greatest moral call that has ever come to the Church in all its history. The peace of the world and the hope for humanity rest upon the proper strengthening of the League.

Not one of the twenty-nine denominations represented in the Council has gone back on this pronouncement. They have rather supported it. The thoughtful Christian people of the country in large majority stand behind it. The so-called "7,000,000 majority against the League" did not settle the question. Not one voter in a hundred had read the Covenant. The issues were confused and complex. People did not want a "wet divorce" in the White House. They wanted change. They followed the thirty-one Republicans of eminence, Hughes, Root, Hoover, etc., who advised voting for Harding as the surest way of getting into the League or into an Association of Nations.

We approach the League today in quite a different fashion from what we did three years ago. Then we should have been obliged to sign the Versailles treaty. Now we should not, and we should enter just as Switzerland or any neutral state has entered. Three years ago we should have had to leave Japan in Shantung. Japan has now evacuated Shantung. The vexing questions of war settlement are chiefly in the hands of the Supreme Council of the Allies where we have no seat and not in the Council of the League where we should make the fifth permanent member and sit down with representatives of six smaller nations instead of four as was first determined. The members of the Council can be extended and room is waiting for Germany and Russia eventually.

"Why should we have any confidence in the League or ask anyone to join it?"

1. Because in a world that has left the stage-coach days and is now connected in every part by wireless, it is as necessary to have an *organized* world as for us to have an organized federation of states, an organized state and an organized city. Otherwise, mob rule, anarchy and war will prevail. Parts must be organically related to wholes. In a political organism there must be headquarters, officers, and machinery for getting world information and for world action on world questions. War came because we were not organized. It will come again unless we get all nations into world organization. As well say that New York state would have been better off and had more influence if she had not come into the Union as to say that we can accomplish more by standing apart.

2. The agency for doing world business, well planted in Geneva, is the only existing agency. There will be no other. This may be greatly strengthened and improved, but it will not be uprooted unless Europe collapses. If we want to save civilization, which is rather necessary if we want to save ourselves, it is well to recognize this fact. The President might theoretically do one of two things: *a.* Unite our government with the nations now outside the League—Russia, Turkey, Germany, Mexico and Ecuador, and a few little unarmed peoples, and form an Association. This would not upset the League, but would create an evil balance of power and lead to war. *b.* Or he might invite all the fifty-two nations in the League, plus those outside, to set aside the League and throw it with its mandatories, its labor and other commissions, its treaties and its headquarters with hundreds of experts securing information, upon the junkheap and then propose some as yet unheard of scheme. No one has yet designed any new Association. No one could do so without largely duplicating the kind of association that exists already, for it is grounded in the nature of the situation. It recognizes present human nature, present political conditions and the certainty that little can be achieved unless *all agree.*

Meanwhile it is the duty of sane people who want to help to ask, What is the alternative? If we do not want war, we must co-operate and very soon, too. Said Alfred Fried, the winner of a Nobel Peace Prize:

> *Peace according to pacifism means a condition of organized living together among nations.* The worst enemies of this organized living together are peace lovers who lack statesmanship and who think the third step can be taken before the first. They are impatient with steps. Individuals may take aeroplanes and fly. But the great masses must move by steps. We cannot have peace unless we take the masses with us.

3. Though the League includes fallible, selfish, foolish nations, they are going to be more fallible, more selfish and more foolish because more frightened if they were without a League. Within the shelter of its pledges they are beginning to meet regularly, to get acquainted, and to become more considerate of each other. They will have less chance to become imperialistic and ambitious inside the League than when left as formerly in a state of anarchy. There is nothing to hinder changes in the Covenant or in the working of the existing Covenant. Our Constitution, which at first, it is well to remember, was rejected by four of our thirteen colonies, when under suspicion it was eventually launched, was obliged at once to add ten amendments to its formulas. We have added nine more since, and shall add others. We did not trust the people to elect the President and provided for electors. But we very soon got around this while not changing the letter of the law. The same thing is being done at Geneva. A thing that is alive will grow.

Were we to help toward the breaking up of the League now, the alternative would not be a noble, new association in a regenerate world and a world court starting out at the beginning with full authority like our Supreme Court, as Senator Borah desires. We should have no association at all. One having failed, we should wait a long time ere we tried another. The outlawing of war and disarmament would be relegated to the Greek Kalends.

There is here no space to deal with all the aspects of the situation and to show the various good things which the League has done, though I should welcome an invitation to descant on these. But let this be seriously said. There is weighty responsibility upon the short-sighted, would-be peacemakers when they merely criticize and do not create. Anyone can find fault. Everything is more or less faulty. The statesman has ideals, but he also knows how they are to be attained. He knows that we must move by steps and he knows what those steps are. He knows that we can not call a halt to human nature tomorrow. He does not falter because he can not get all he wants and get it now. He

would nourish and not destroy the little Tree of Life which has been planted and which ought to be for the healing of all the nations of the earth if its roots are not cut by suspicion and its green branches denuded by the caterpillars of ignorance and bitterness.

Boston, Mass. LUCIA AMES MEAD.

[Mrs. Mead, who honors us with the gracious title, "my friend," is second to none among the women of America as a worker for international peace and brotherhood. Nay, why draw the line at "women"? Among men and women alike, Mrs. Mead is among the few real leaders in this country on the peace question. She and her husband together have made the name Mead as sacred in the history of the cause of peace as the names Channing and Hale. Because we have long admired Mrs. Mead's intellectual capacity, long known and valued her extraordinary stores of knowledge, long cherished her finely independent and brave spirit, we are genuinely grieved when we find ourselves in disagreement with her. And frightened, too!—for, if we were a betting man, we would stake her opinion against our own every time, and win nine times out of ten!! But we have to be honest, whatever our regrets and tremors, and thus, in this case, as the writer of the editorial challenge referred to, confess our inability to follow Mrs. Mead in her above League of Nations argument.

We have no desire, and no space here, to answer Mrs. Mead. She, if anybody, is entitled to her own hearing, without contention! But we venture to state herewith, as nearly without argument as possible, our dissent, if only to the end of persuading her to send us another paper expressly aimed at our dissent, which we promise to publish without comment.

We can best and briefly explain our position by following Mrs. Mead's three points on the main issue —"confidence in the League," and America's relation thereto.

1. "It is necessary to have an organized world." We agree! But it seems, and has all along seemed, to us that the League of Nations is *not* such "an organized world." It is (or seems to us), on the contrary, one part of the world organized against another part. Mrs. Mead confuses *the* League of Nations with *a* league of nations—a sham and dishonest League with a real league, a League which has done nothing to stop three wars since 1919 and will do nothing to stop the impending "Next War" with a league which would be effective against armed struggle. We are second to none in our belief in "an organized world." Such a world can be secured either by changing radically the present League, or establishing a new league. The United States, by her infinitely wise course in staying out of the League, is in an ideal strategic position to force the reorganization of the League as a condition of her joining, or, failing this, to take the lead in the organization of a real league. When either thing is attempted or accomplished, we shall give it our whole support. If the United States, however, joins the existing League, she would lose the immense advantage of her present position and thus accomplish nothing. It is a calamity that the present do-nothing policy of our Government has confused America's position with that of the irreconcilable *intransient*.

2. "The agency for doing business, well planted in Geneva, is the only existing agency. There will be no other." Here we disagree! Mrs. Mead seems to believe that a bad or unworkable League is better than no league at all. How so? Is a bad electric bulb better than no electric bulb at all? Do we not in both cases have not light but darkness? A person who argues in this fashion, it seems to us, simply becomes a collector of old junk, with a house all cluttered up with useless stuff which he has not the heart to throw away. The world is just such a junk collector, clinging to useless or broken machines because "they are better than nothing." Mrs. Mead argues that we should take this League, because "there will be no other." That is dangerous prophecy, as all negative prophecy is dangerous. It might have been made by champions of the Articles of Confederation in 1783; but the Constitution came only a few years later. It *was* made by champions of the Hague Court; but already we have the League Court which, ineffective as it is, is better than its predecessor. We refuse to despair of the future, to abandon hope in the constructive capacity of the human mind. Let us make an affirmative prophecy in place of Mrs. Mead's negative prophecy! The world will get a better league, a genuine world organization, if only the United States will refuse to become entangled in the Geneva failure, and use her present incomparably independent position to lead the way to true achievement. This is the "alternative" for which Mrs. Mead here asks. Its way lies along the road marked out by the Levinson-Borah plan for the "Outlawry of War."

3. "Though the League includes fallible, selfish nations, they are going to be more fallible, more selfish . . . if without a League," etc. The history of the past four years makes it impossible for us to accept this statement. How the membership of nations in the League has in any way tended to make these nations less selfish or imperialistic, we fail to see. Take France, for example! Or Greece! Or Rumania! Or Poland! Or Italy! If this is what a league does, or fails to do, then away with leagues! But we refuse to believe this. What happened under the Articles of Confederation here in America in the eighteenth century was no measure of what would happen under a true Constitution. Mrs. Mead's argument here seems to us to give disastrous aid and comfort to the enemy of all world organization. She should drop it forthwith. As to amending the present League, after the analogy of the U. S. Constitution, this sounds well until the two methods of amendment are compared. The only feasible means of changing the League, as we have said, is for the United States to stay outside and use to the uttermost the strategic advantage of this position. This was not true of the states which stayed, or were tempted to stay, out of the American Union in 1789. Compare the League Covenant with the Constitution and the whole thing would seem to be plain. Mrs. Mead's case seems to be this—the League, or universal catastrophe. This impresses us as a terrific alternative. To ask the United States to act upon it, is to ask her to board a sinking ship, and go down with the rest. Why not stay on board her own ship, and save the rest? We deplore a do-nothing policy. We see no good in destroying the League for its own sake. We want action to the end of saving mankind by international organization against war. The United States, by staying outside the League, has preserved to herself a God-given opportunity to take such action. Mrs. Mead's alternative, in other words, is not a real alternative. There is a third course open—and the Levinson-Borah plan is a program for this course. J. H. H.]

The Present Crisis: Wanted for Adoption—A Foreign Policy!

IV.

Nature, it has long been alleged, abhors a vacuum. Certainly human nature recoils from a moral or intellectual vacuum in those who are chosen or who choose themselves to lead and govern it. And American human nature recoils today from the curious amalgam of cast-iron indifference and irresolute and muddled meddling, from the jejune or frightened incompetence that apparently possess the Department of State and dominate with Do-nothingism the conduct of the foreign affairs of this republic at a critical and very unhappy period of the world's history.

When every thoughtful citizen knows that a wise and firm and imaginative direction of American foreign policy is imperatively needed as much for the protection of the economic and moral well-being of America as for the peace and prosperity of the rest of the world,—why is it that we are compelled to observe with increasing humiliation a series of shy and furtive whisperings from Washington on the backstairs of foreign offices and conferences, and an amateurish display of timid interloping rather than earnest and creative intervention, of apologetic and tentative overtures as fruitless as they are inept, when the world is waiting anxiously for confident and courageous leadership out of the wilderness towards the Promised Land of reconciliation and disarmament? Where is the old idealism, the old Americanism which the world respected, even if it sometimes smiled indulgently at its reckless self-confidence? Are we growing senile and timid without growing wise? Where is there any evidence of intelligent and robust exposition of a purpose and a policy worthy of America and offering appeasement to a sorely smitten world of which America is an important contributing part? Like neutrality in the face of arrogant militarism, it is insufferable to mark time on the side-lines while others act rashly or bilndly and misuse and desecrate a common victory, the reward of untold expenditure of wealth and heroism and sacrifice!

In the face of an angry chaos which by our participation in the European war as much as by our impotence in the presence of the sterile "Punic" peace we helped to cause, we have meddled ineffectively—in Lausanne, on the Reparations Commission, even at Versailles (did it prove to be anything more?)—but America has not offered anything valuable in ideas or helpful in spirit since the Armistice—with the exceptions of the Washington Conference and the British debt settlement. And because of this fact we are now menaced with a rash campaign for American entrance into the League of Nations, on any terms—as if the terms and conditions of American participation in that incomplete and imperfect, undemocratic political machine were not supremely important! And while what Mr. A. G. Gardiner, the distinguished British publicist, calls "the greatest crime in the history of modern Europe"—the invasion of the Ruhr—proceeds with its violence and terrorism and fruitless embitterment, America, which repudiated the Treaty of Versailles because it betrayed the American pledges of justice and threatened to involve us in the quarrels of an unredeemed and exacerbated Europe, can think of nothing better to do than to send Mr. Eliot Wadsworth to Paris to collect from the Allies 250 million dollars from the billion and a half dollars in cash which Germany has paid to the Allied Governments for the expenses of the armies of occupation —under the terms of the very treaty which America has repudiated! Hardly a proceeding to be celebrated by a proud posterity as comparable to the action of John Hay in returning the Boxer indemnity to the vanquished Chinese for the advancement of light and learning!

Without asserting that the United States Government ought to have resigned its share in the monies exacted from the German Republic for the payment of the armies of occupation on German soil—monies which now total altogether more than a third of all that Germany has paid on the reparations account (and more than five billion dollars in cash and value have been paid)—without asserting that the United States would have acted wisely and generously and traditionally if it had declared that this money should be applied to the work of relief and reconstruction equally in Germany and Northern France, we venture to affirm that the American people are far less interested in the repayment of the costs of the troops of occupation—costs which General Allen declares would have been incurred even if the troops had never been sent to the Rhine—than they are in seeing the intolerable reparations broil adjusted, in seeing the Allied troops withdrawn from German soil and disarmed, in seeing Germany and Europe set again upon the paths of peace and useful labor,—and in seeing the American Government working earnestly towards these ends. We believe that a just and feasible solution is perfectly possible of attainment. We believe that the German Republic has proved its willingness by repeated offers during the last two years to make all the compensation for the injuries inflicted by its *Ancien Régime* which any government in its position could reasonably be expected to make. We believe that it has not been given a fair chance, and that it is largely our fault that this is so. We believe that real disarmament and peace, in perpetuity, are not impossible of attainment, that the majority of the people of every country yearns for these things and is ready to make sacrifices for them. We do not entirely understand what has happened to prevent their accomplishment. We do not understand what has happened to Mr. Hughes. We expected, not without reason, great things from his conduct of our department of foreign affairs. He does not even appear to be trying to fulfill those reasonable expectations. What is the matter? Moral indignation, political confusion and chicanery, and the false psychology of victory have undoubtedly been the answer. Are they to remain the answer forever, an insuperable obstacle to the peoples' will to peace?

Suppose, for a moment, that the American Secretary of State really wanted to say something and do something that would reflect the best mind and feeling of the country, that would give renewed expression to the distinguished tradition of American diplomacy in times more dark and threatening than any since the close of the World War—what would he say and do? Suppose that the President of this great nation, aware for an hour of the tragedy and oppressive doom that hang like a pall over human lives beyond the Atlantic,

and aware of his responsibility for their continuance, should ask a liberal business-man or a thoughtful average citizen, or even an intelligent college professor, for advice,—what would the President be told that he could and should do? Certainly few things are of greater importance to the happiness of future civilization than the struggle of Mr. Average Citizen in a democratic state to understand and exercise some intelligent control over the official relationship of his country with other countries, to know exactly what the foreign policy of his government is and to be able to approve or disapprove it with information and conviction. It is of supreme importance to organized labor, to the middle classes, to the young men, and even to the children of the republic whose lives and fortunes are directly involved that their fortunes and lives should not be bartered and pledged in the dark by shrewd and cynical intriguers and diplomats controlled by this or that industrial or financial group or newspaper presuming to speak for the entire nation and to commit it to action and even to war without the full knowledge and consent of the people. The best security against the perpetration of this crime is that Mr. Average Citizen, and his wife, and his son, should have opinions about foreign affairs and the information for the formation of their opinions; and that they should express those opinions without restraint or suppression. In no other way can we be safe. In no other way can democracy become a reality, even occasionally. In no other way can the world make any progress towards larger understanding and security. Unless these things can happen, unless opinion can be accurately informed and vital, there will be no improvement, and no league of nations however fine it may sound on paper or from the platforms of its propagandists will do anything but harm.

Very well, then, for these reasons, and as a contribution to this great cause of the informing and vitalizing of public opinion on the perplexing problems of foreign policy, and specifically in order to meet the charge certain to be levelled that in implying resolute opposition to the entrance of the United States into the Geneva League of Nations unless American participation be conditioned upon the reorganization of the League in the directions of inclusiveness and democratization, we have nothing better and nothing at all practical to suggest—let us submit to the confused and reverberating forum of public opinion and discussion a clear program summarizing the most constructive and valuable ideas that have yet been generated, so far as we know, for an adequate American foreign policy in the present European anarchy and violence. Mr. Hughes himself recently told interviewers that he would welcome any proposals contributing to the formation of a liberal American policy likely to prove serviceable to the cause of international adjustment and American security through the reconciliation and peace of the world. Conscious of the horrors and disasters of the recent past and of the menacing dangers of the imminent future, no less than of the deeper aspirations of the American people who desire to play a creditable rôle in the present crisis, let us move that the following rational program be adopted and published, at least by those who read it, as an appropriate foreign policy for the United States:

1. The Government of the United States declares its unqualified condemnation of the misuse of a common victory, the reward of years of struggle and costly sacrifice for a great ideal of human reconciliation, by any one power or group of powers for the purpose of military and economic aggression against any people; and particularly does the United States reprobate the use of armed forces involving the destruction of civilian life and property for the collection of public debts—in accordance with the recognized Drago Doctrine of International Law.

2. Because of its vital interest in the security and peace of the world, for which it entered the World War and contributed to the Allied victory, the Government of the United States calls upon the Allied Governments to discuss with it in public conference in Washington the settlement of their mutual indebtedness to it upon the following principles, to be accepted in advance:

A. Affirming its readiness to offer substantial concessions in the rates of interest and even in the principal of the debts owing to it, the United States expects the Government of Great Britain to make similar concessions by writing down the interest on its war-indebtedness to its own people proportionately to the reduction to be conceded by the United States to it, and, furthermore, to renounce the debts owing to it by France and Italy and all further claims upon Germany arising from the Treaty of Versailles;

B. The United States offers similar financial concessions to France upon condition that a feasible economic settlement of its claims upon Germany be promptly agreed upon and accepted—a settlement not to exceed the payment of forty-five milliard marks gold, in cash or value, which the German government and people can pay within a decade.

3. The United States offers to France, in addition to its moral support in the collection of the reparations stipulated in the preceding paragraph, the assurance of economic and even of limited military support in the event of unprovoked military attack from Germany at any time in the course of the next ten years during which the reparations obligations, accepted by the German Republic, are to be paid,—upon the stipulated condition that France immediately withdraws all of its troops from the Ruhr within the zones delimited by the Treaty of Versailles for military occupation, and reduces its military establishment elsewhere to a minimum to be agreed upon.

4. The Government of the United States urges upon the nations of Europe a solemn international covenant or agreement prohibiting absolutely the use of African or Asiatic troops in Europe, and the exercise of compulsory military training or service in time of peace; together with an agreement affirming any declaration or act of war which has not previously been ratified by a public vote of the people *to be illegal.*

Here is a compass for the drifting Ship of State. Here is a program for all that is capable and high-minded in American statesmanship, worthy of the best American tradition, and bearing towards the achievement of the ends for which the American people believed that they entered the World War. It is a program which summons all that is fair-minded and forward-looking in Europe to collaboration. It is adequate because it is at once idealistic and practicable. It would make American influence count in the successful determination of the fundamental problems of peace, as it counted in the military termination of the war. And we submit that it would be far more valuable and effective than would be American participation in the uncertain politics of the Geneva League or in its fettered Court of (voluntary) Arbitration at the Hague. A detailed discussion of the program itself is reserved for a subsequent article.

BRENT DOW ALLINSON.

My neighbor's grief is dark to me.
I gaze and dread, without;
And marvel how he lives to bear
The blackness and the doubt.

And yet, by all lost ways of grief
That I have had to plod,
I know how small a rift lets through
A little gleam of God.

—*Josephine Peabody Marks.*

CORRESPONDENCE

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT IN CHINA
(A Private Letter)

". . . Your letter of March 26th is at hand after a very quick trip. That is the one in which you mention my having consented to send in things for UNITY from time to time. I have been so rushed the past weeks that I have wondered if I was not rash to make any such promise. However I presume it is a good thing to have something to call me away from my routine work now and then. Tonight I am so weary with the rush of the past two or three days since I got home from the country that I cannot try to answer or discuss the things of which you speak concerning the church. I will say this much, that Louise and I are both with you entirely in your statement, 'Nothing less than a frank and open demand for the abolition of the whole profit system, a demand as absolute as that of Garrison for Slave emancipation, or of Neal Dow for liquor prohibition, is the only course which has in it any moral promise for the world crisis.' I have preached that absolutely plainly ever since I first began my ministry, and I feel it today as strongly as ever before. I also realize that as far as any one can foresee, the capitalists are taking such an attitude that a clash is practically inevitable sooner or later, —that, because of the nature of both parties to the struggle. Neither believes in the Christian method of settlement, and as long as they don't no one can prevent them settling the matter, or rather attempting to, by the method of brutes. But I believe firmly that if either party to this struggle took the position of working only through the slower and more deliberate process which is moral, that party would have a great advantage in the long run, even though temporarily it might seem to suffer for taking such a stand. But as neither is in any danger of taking such an attitude, the only question for me as an individual is, How can I best serve my day and generation and the cause of human freedom and justice? Personally, I don't believe I can do so by going contrary to my own convictions in the use of violence to attain social justice. As long as the workers fight peacefully for their end, I shall be one with them in the struggle. When they resort to force, I shall still hope for their victory, but I myself shall still work for social justice in the only ways which I believe open to Christian men.

"The Church is often trying beyond measure to me as it is to you. Socially it is hard for me to be patient with our leaders. The real difference in our position, however, is this: I believe that the whole social revolution has grown out of a soil prepared by the personal Christian message. As blind as the Church has been to the social gospel, it has nevertheless preached the very ethic which is bringing about the change. I don't believe that economic determinism is absolute, or anywhere near it. Socialists of the sort who accept economic determinism in that sense seem to me to be making over again the mistake of the Calvinists only in a more stupid form. I'd rather trust a personal God, our Father, to determine things if they are to be determined, than to trust the iron necessity of an economic process from which there is no escape. But I don't believe either is right. I don't believe life is so stupid as all that, and I'm sure you don't either. We are within and a part of the economic process, but we are within as determining factors to the extent that we care to be. And to my mind a part of that which makes man will to be a determining factor in the economic process is his idealism. This is so of even the socialist who denies it. There is nothing for him personally in fighting the good fight for the revolution. It is for the sake of others and for the sake of ideals that he lives. Now I simply maintain that the highest and best idealism of the world comes to us through Jesus. I also believe that in spite of its mistakes, the Church is doing more to propagate this idealism than any other human institution. True, it is too often forgetting to practice the social implications of its personal idealism, but even there it has made much progress in the right direction in the last forty years. The capitalists in the Church are a menace, and the wealth of some of our Church organizations is a menace. But after all the real Church is not these central organizations which try to boss us but rather the thousands of small groups scattered all over the world which call themselves churches. These are good, bad, and indifferent. Being composed of the crowd they move no faster than majorities will let them. All human institutions are that way, whether educational, political, or religious. But within each organization is the progressive group which is guiding the movement slowly but surely in the right direction. Individuals may outstrip the organization, and it is well that they should. But the organization is necessary just the same, as the vehicle by which the heritage of the past is carried over to the future. Much rubbish is carried along with that which is worth while. But as long as humanity is not perfect that is inevitable.

"I believe in the necessity of the Church also because it is helping men to know God. I believe that is its main task, and not the propagation of social revolution. But I believe just as truly that a genuine knowledge of God—a God like Jesus in character—compels men, when they see him clearly, to work for social revolution in order that His will may be realized in the common life of man. In the end, the personal and the social cannot be separated; they are one. In the beginning, I believe that personal trust in God and devotion to seeking His will is the motive power of the idealism which will one day build a new world on the ruins of the old. If faith in God—a personal faith—is really submerged for the time being under the secularism of our age, idealism in the social realm will have a hard time of it, for unconsciously its very life impulse, the passion which carries it forward, is drawn from the faith which it derides. May I say that life in inland China makes this plain even as it was not under home conditions. Social adjustment, a new society, is needed here too. But our conditions are primitive in the extreme except in the cities, and we are far from them and almost untouched by their modernism. Why is Chinese life stagnant? Why is their politics such a hopeless mess, infinitely worse than the mess represented by politics at home? Because they have no foundation upon which to build anything. They have not even the rudimentary knowledge of unselfishness and disinterestedness in public service. There is hardly the beginning of simple personal honesty. It is entirely taken for granted that office is an opportunity for graft, for filling one's pockets at the expense of the people. All this is true of almost all the Chinese official class. On the other hand, the common folks with stoical indifference take what comes, and live as though there were no world outside their own little village. It will take a moral upheaval, an earthquake in the realm of personal inner life, to change people from their millenniums of this kind of thing. There has got to be power forthcoming from some source before there is hope of change. I believe that the only hope of China is in a new inner life in her people. Their case is hopeless on the basis of mere outward revolution such at Sun Yat Sen is trying to put over. We want his revolution if it comes with the consent of the governed, through their own free action. But he is trying to force a military revolution. Things need to be reformed, so he is going to it to reform them. But it can't be done that way, and after he has experimented a life time with externalism he may find that it pays to take the slower way to the end. I believe Russia's mistake has been the same. I fully recognize all the odds which the government there has faced; it is true that they have not had a fair chance. But they have tried to force their kind of government down the throats of the people by a dictatorship. And all dictatorships, whether of Church or State, are insane, and produce more insanity. They will never win a true socialism by the method which they have used. Neither will we in America if we follow their example. Perhaps it is too late to prevent our following them in the old insane method which our capitalist friends have taught us. But at least the only hope in my mind is in trying to make the American revolution come as the outgrowth of a new impulse in the soul of the American people as a whole, or at least a majority, and not merely as the pet scheme of one section of our people forced on the others without their consent.

"Well, I have written too much already and must stop. But my faith in the Church in spite of its failures and weakness, in spite of some things in it that madden me, is based upon my conviction of the necessity of personal religion as the basis of the new social life to come. That is where I differ, as far as I can see, fundamentally with Holmes, and I imagine with you. However, Holmes is doing his work and you are doing yours, and both are necessary. But it seems to me that in both cases you are giving most of your attention to the super-structure without due thought as to the sort of a foundation upon which you are building. I agree that the orthodox type of personal religion may prove a drug to the senses of the people if it stops without social application. But even our friend the Pope says some rather worth while things socially in his last Encyclical Letter, and a certain section of the Roman Catholic Church is making progress toward the ideal of social revolution as you know without my saying. In spite of its exasperating slowness, I believe the drift is in the right direction in the Congregational Church. Therefore, because I believe its personal message of supreme importance, and because I believe there is progress, even

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION.

Thursday, September 6, to Monday, September 10, Columbia Hotel, Belmar, N. J.

The Fellowship is confronted with the task of so demonstrating the contagious power of the way of life embodied in the principles which Jesus taught that people will be won to that way.

This means that the power of "conversion" in the old individualistic sense and the more humane interest which is involved in what is known as "the social gospel" must in some way be synthesized so that people may be moved to a full dedication of life in the creative work of building a world in which love may dominate every relationship.

Is it possible of accomplishment? What are the ways of doing it effectively? By exhortation? By argument? By demonstration? By infection? By project? These are the questions to which it is proposed that the Fall Conference shall devote itself. It is evident that their proper consideration will demand the most self forgetful and consecrated thought which can be given.

In order to lead to the most thorough consideration of the subject the program has been divided into three parts. First there will be the full statement of the problem and examination of the validity of our belief that the way of love is well grounded in the resources of human nature. Then will come an examination as to what that way of life involves both for individuals and the nation, centering the discussion, because of the limitations of time, around the question of the standard of living which is at the heart of it.

The third part begins with the consideration of the methods which may be used in helping both young and old to enter into the deeper life, a discussion of the nature and purpose of the Fellowship and its practical program, and a view of the world's need for real fellowship disclosed by present conditions in Europe. After such an opening up of the possibilities, implications, methods and needs of the way of life to which the Fellowship is committed, the conference will close on Sunday with a search into the spiritual realities which give vitality and power to the undertaking. It is here that we look for clearer light on the essential problem of the conference.

"The Dynamic of a New Order."

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

THURSDAY

4:30 p. m.—*Can Society Function on the Basis of Fellowship?*
What Changes Would This Involve for Individuals and Groups?
How Is Fellowship to be Extended?
A statement of the problems before the Conference by Edmund B. Chaffee of the Presbyterian Labor Temple, New York. Discussion.

7:30 p. m.—*What Human Traits and Qualities Justify the Hope That Society May Become a Fellowship?*
Must Society always be acquisitive?
Discussion conducted by Francis N. Maxfield of the Pennsylvania State Department of Public Instruction.

FRIDAY

9:30 a. m.—*How Can We Determine a Standard of Living Conducive to Fellowship?*
In respect to luxuries and necessaries:
Is it consistent with brotherhood for any group in society to enjoy luxuries for which the rest of society has no equivalent?
Will beauty and other cultural values survive a possible equalizing of standards? What is culture?
What is the relation between culture as it is commonly understood and nationalistic and racial antagonisms?
Is America justified in maintaining a more comfortable standard of living than that which prevails in the rest of the world?
Discussion conducted by Scott Nearing of the Rand School, New York.

4:30 p. m.—*Methods of Work with Young People.*
Led by Elsa Lotz of the Spring Street Neighborhood House, New York.

7:30 p. m.—*How Can Effective Habits of Fellowship Be Developed?*
What place is there in social religion for the dynamic of conversion?
Discussion conducted by Harrison Elliott, of the Union Theological Seminary, New York.

SATURDAY

9:30 a. m.—The Election of the Council and other Business of Importance.
The Nature and Function of the Fellowship. A discussion of the purpose and policy which we should pursue.

4:30 p. m.—*Discussion Methods.*
Led by Harrison Elliott.

7:30 p. m.—*The World's Need for Fellowship.*
The Struggle for Bread.
The Clash of Race and Nation.
The Twilight of Hope.
What of the Ruhr, Russia, the Near East?
Discussion opened by Hertha Kraus, City Director of Welfare Work, Cologne. Grace Hutchins, F. O. R. Secretary, and Anna Rochester, of the World Tomorrow Board.

SUNDAY

10:00 a. m.—The theme of the meditation and discussion of the morning will be *Fellowship as a Religious Experience.*
What can we learn of fellowship from Jesus?
The discovery of God in human relationships.
The part of prayer in the experience of fellowship.
Fellowship as an experience uniting "personal" and "social" religion.
Led by Sydney Strong, Citizen of the World.

7:30 p. m.—*How Are We Interpreting to Others What We Mean by Fellowship?*
Discussion opened by George L. Collins, Field Secretary of the F. O. R.

For further details write to the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 396 Broadway, New York City.

RECOGNITION OF SOVIET RUSSIA

The following Resolution was adopted by the American Federation of Teachers at its convention in Chicago, July 11th to 13th. In face of the recent correspondence between Secretary of State Hughes and Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, resolutions of this kind are of special interest to your readers.

WHEREAS, The present Russian Government has proven to be a *de facto* government; and

WHEREAS, Many European and other Governments have established commercial relations with the Russian Government that have proven not only mutually profitable to all such countries but by such action they are enabling the Russian people to secure access to foodstuffs, medicines, machinery and other commodities which are sorely needed in their reconstruction work; and

WHEREAS, Stable world economic and social conditions cannot be established unless the leading states of Europe are rehabilitated and the tremendous resources and population of Russia make it a vital factor in the world reconstruction; and

WHEREAS, The present administration at Washington has thus far failed to open official commercial relationship with Russia and by such action seriously

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though slow, in the right direction socially, I don't want to see the Church abandoned by the liberals. I mean to stay inside as long as I'm tolerated and do what I can to keep things moving in the right direction. If ever I have to leave the Church I'm now in, I'll find another. And if I can't find another then I'll proceed to build one of the right sort, even though small, for a Church is a necessity to any normal Christian life and to any normal social progress. Enough! This lecture is done. . . ." ROBERT B. WHITAKER.

MR. FORD NOT CONNECTED WITH THE KU KLUX KLAN.

Editors of UNITY:

I am sure it is your wish that UNITY should be editorially accurate. There was an inaccuracy in the last issue which has reached me in the reference to Henry Ford, saying he "has been accused of financing the Klan's activities, and he has not denied the charge." Mr. Ford was in Springfield, Mass., sometime before your issue of July 5, in which the above statement occurs, and in an interview he flatly denied having any connection with the Ku Klux Klan. "I never have belonged to any secret organization, and never intend to," he is reported as asserting. "I think the Ku Klux Klan is un-American, and if I joined any organization it would be one that wouldn't require me to wear a mask." In the same interview he disclaimed having an aspiration toward an occupancy of the White House at Washington. He was "too much occupied with his own affairs to become the next president and did not intend to run."

Appreciatively yours for the truth,
CHARLES C. CONNER.

handicaps and discourages efforts to establish commercial intercourse; therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Teachers, interested primarily in world reconstruction urge upon the United States Government that all barriers tending to prevent commercial intercourse and the ultimate recognition of the present Russian government be removed.

F. G. STECHER, *Sec'y-Treasurer,*
American Federation of Teachers.
National Convention,
Chicago, July 11th to 13th.

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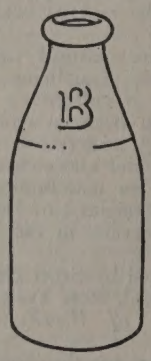

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